

SERMON

Preach'd to a
Congregation of Dissenters,

ON

Jan. XXXth, 1713:

Being the Anniversary of the

Death of K. Charles the First.

WHEREIN

The GUILT of that Fact is fairly represented,
the Innocent are clear'd, and the Causes of those
Calamitous Times are, from the most Celebrated
Historians, truly discover'd.

WITH

AN APPENDIX, containing the
MINISTERS Vindication of themselves
from *Unjust Aspersions*, as to any hand in bring-
ing that KING to Capital Punishment.

L O N D O N

Printed for JOHN CLARK, at the Bible and
Crown in the Old-Change, near St. Pauls. 1713.



PREFACE.



THE Author of the following Discourse, however unusual, needs not make any Apology, he thinks, for its Publication.

NOT to his Presbyterian Brethren, because 'tis sent into the World on a Design to clear them and their Fathers from the Guilt, and if possible from the Reproach, of K. Charles's Murder; and that from Authentic Vouchers of the most Loyal Historian.

NOT to his Dissenting Brethren of any other denomination: It can be no Dijury to them, to free our selves from false and injurious Accusations. He designs no Reproach to them, nor Charge against them; nor doth he think the Faults of this kind, committed by Progenitors, are imputable to those that succeed them, any farther than they are imitated or allow'd by them. Nor doth he pretend to sit in Judgment upon Persons, and usurp the Seat of GOD; but only to describe Facts as they appear to him, and as he hath been always taught to think of them from Ancestors, who were no Enemies to the Parliament Cause (tho' not engag'd in the War) as long as they thought it Just and Defensible, but abhor'd this Part, and all the arbitrary Proceedings of the Army that made way to it.

NOT to his Episcopal Brethren. He thinks it may be of no little Service to them, if what is said here be weigh'd and attended to by them. It offers some Reason why they should not wipe their Mouths upon such an Occasion, and say, We have done no Wickedness. The Day is set apart for Confession of Sin, Humiliation, and Repentance; to promote which Designs, it may be proper to let them know, that they are not inculpable, but come in for a share of the Guilt, that they may bewail their own Sins; for the Generality of them express very little Remorse at the magnified Crimes of others, but put on such an Air on the Occasion, as signifies a secret Joy, that they have this Opportunity of triumphing over their Brethren, and loading them with Reproaches, in direct Opposition to that Character of Christian Charity, that, it rejoyceth not in Iniquity.

P R E F A C E

CERTAIN it is, that their Unaccountable Doctrine is principally chargeable with bringing the King to the Block. The old Metaphysical Axiom may be said in proof of it, *Causa causat effectum*. And the Influence of this Cause towards the Effect lies in this plain and natural order: An Arbitrary Army, with their Tools, were the Instruments of the King's Murder; Success and the Sword gave them Power to turn out their Masters and perpetrate this Fact. The Parliament indeed put the Sword into their Hands, but did they do it in cold Blood, and unprovok'd? Were they not irritated by very great Oppressions? *Memus confitemur Reos*; let the Royal Historian be heard in what is here quoted from him. And who were the Authors of these Oppressions? Were they not Courtiers, that, to carry on their Designs, would have persuaded the King he was not bound to observe Laws; and flattering Divines, who, to fetch their Prince, and recommend themselves to Power and Preferment, back'd these Lawless Pretensions with a Divine Commission, and nam'd them the Authority of G O D? Thus is the Stream trac'd up to its Source: *Hinc ille lachrymæ*!

T H E Author's Design is not to justify himself by shifting the Fault to others; he hath freely own'd, that no Party among us at that day were free from Blame: And still all Parties come to see this, I am persuaded we shall never make that use of such Calamitous Times as may be expected from wise Christians.

H E persuades himself also 'twill be evident from the following Quotations, that the Real Republicans of those Times were few in number, in comparison of those who were for maintaining the Fundamental Constitution in the three Branches of Legislature, King, Lords, and Commons: From whence 'twill be seen what a barefac'd Calumny it is, to say of the Dissenters, and much more of the Whigs in general, That from that time to this they have been carrying on one continued Design to destroy the Monarchy, and erect a Republic on its Ruins: The Royal Historian clears them of all such Designs then, and their fiercest and loudest Accusers now, I'll be bold to say, can very difficultly prove their own Words to be believ'd by themselves, however they may impose on the Credulity of others.

T H E Appendix is printed, not that the Author will take upon him to justify every Expression in it, but to clear the Presbyterian from any Intention against the King's Life at the time of his Murder.

Vale.

1 SAM. XXVI. 9

*Who can stretch forth his Hand against
the LORD's Anointed, and be Guilt-
less?*

THESE Words are the reply of David to Abiathar, when he would have persuaded him to take the Advantage against Saul, which divine Providence seemed to have given him, and rid himself of an Implacable Enemy by striking him dead. He can give briefly this. Saul for his Rebellion against GOD and his Rebellion to him had been rejected by him, and of Saul's old by Jonathan, the Father of GOD was anointed King, and so the Royalty was by divine Commission transferred to Saul's Family, and David and his Family: Not by immediately conferring Sovereign Power upon him, and giving him Authority to exercise it (for when Saul's Commission should have been immediately revoked, nor could he have been termed afterward the Anointed of the LORD) but by giving him a revolutionary Right to take Place upon Saul's Throne. Upon the Knowledge of this, and the Reputation and Interest David had acquired among the People by his (a) Valour and other Noble Qualities, and probably also upon Suspicions of his own, and Officious Suggestions of others about him, that he would by Treachery or Violence have dispossessed him of his (b) Throne, he became his inveterate Enemy, and resolv'd to take away his Life. This was attempted by him more than once while David was in waiting at Court. But when once he was assur'd by his Friend Jonathan the Prince Royal, that his Father would not be reconcil'd, he quitted the Court and Kingdom and retir'd to (c) Achish, King of Gath. But not thinking himself se-

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(a) XV. Ch. 23. (b) XVI. Ch. 13. (c) XXVI. Ch. 10. (d) XVIII. Ch. 13. 10. (e) XXII. Ch. 13. (f) XXII. Ch. 10, 11.

cure there neither, he return'd again into his own Land, to a Cave near the City of (g) *Adullam*, almost in the Heart of the Kingdom. There he gather'd a Band of Men, Debtors, Male-contents, &c. to the Number of four Hundred, which in time increas'd to (h) six Hundred. With this little Army he was sometimes in the Neighbouring Lands, sometimes in the (i) Cities of *Judah*, and sometimes in the Wilderness.

'Tis indeed Indisputable, that this Body of Men was not rais'd by *David* to make War upon *Saul*, nor did he ever attempt by that or any other Means, to disturb his peaceable Possession of the Throne. But no tolerable Reason can be given, why he should march about the Kingdom of *Israel* thus attended, if he had not a design hereby to secure himself, against the Officers and Emissaries of *Saul*, who would gladly have made Court to their Prince, by Seizing and delivering into his Hands, one whom he had declar'd his mortal Enemy, and no doubt charg'd with a Traiterous and Rebellious design against his Life and Crown. 'Tis very probable some had a Commission from *Saul* to do this, notwithstanding which *David* kept upon his Guard, and after an Interview with *Saul* recorded in this Chapter, and another (k) afterward, in both which *Saul* acknowledges *David*'s Innocence and his own Injustice, and in the last (l) Invites him to his Court, and promises to do him no harm, we find he still kept his little Army undisbanded, and fled (m) with them at last into the Land of the *Philistines*, an Army rais'd and maintain'd without any Commission from his Prince, and for his own Protection and Defence, tho' with no Evil purpose against the Person, or the Crown of his Sovereign.

IN this Chapter we read that the Inhabitants of *Ziph*, in whose Neighbourhood he was with this little Army, had given *Saul* Information of his being there, who immediately brought out three Thousand Men against him. *David* by Spies had notice of his coming, and with some chosen Attendants went out of the Wilderness to view his Camp: And having (as 'tis probable) been advis'd by GOD himself, in what Condition he should find the Army of *Saul*, made a proposal to them to go down into the Camp. *Abishai* offer'd himself

(g) XXII. Ch. 1. (h) XXVII. Ch. 2. (i) XXX. Ch. 26, 31. (k) XXVI. Chap. 26, 21. (l) XXVII. Ch. 1. (m) VIII. Lev. 12.

himself to accompany him thither. When they came into the Host, they found a deep sleep from the LORD had fallen upon them, so that without Interruption they went on to the Tent of Saul, and found him sleeping. Abishai hereupon perswaded David to take the Advantage that seem'd to be offer'd him, to strike his Adversary dead, and thereby put himself out of all future Danger. This was a *Pollie*, but not an honest Suggestion, and therefore David repels it with the Words of our Text, *Who can stretch forth his Hand against the LORD's Anointed, and be Guiltless?* By which Expression he plainly intimates, that tho' he stood upon his Guard, and would keep himself out of Danger by all fit and lawful Methods, yet he would never save himself by so Base and Criminal a Fact.

THO' Saul pursued him with mortal Enmity, and thirsted for his Blood, David had no hatred against his Person, no Traiterous Intentions against his Crown and Dignity; and he went at that time into the Host of Saul to fetch evident Proof of his Innocent Purposes thence, and to offer it to his Injurious Prince. No wonder therefore if he should, with Horror, start back from a Proposal of his Murder.

IT had been a Crime of which so Honest, Brave and Generous a Mind as David's, could not have been guilty, to have Assassinated a *Private Enemy* at such an Advantage. But his Method of Expression implies this would have been more than a Common Murder, when he offers it as a Reason to restrain his Hand, that Saul was the LORD's Anointed. The Sense of which Expression will deserve a little to be consider'd, to come at what I intended on this Occasion, which is a Day set apart by Authority, to Deprecate the Wrath of GOD, and keep up a just Abhorrence of the Murder of K. Charles I. committed in the Last Century, to the reproach of Englishmen, and Scandal of the Protestant Religion.

YOU must remember then, that when any Person was immediately call'd of GOD, to the Chief Ecclesiastical or Civil Authority among his People the Jews, a Prophet did by the Solemn rite of pouring Oil upon Him, Invest Him with his Office, and give Him his Commission. Thus (n) Aaron when

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first put into the Priest's Office, was Anointed by *Mose*. Thus (e) *Saul* and (p) *David* were Anointed by *Samuel*, (q) *Solomon* by *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Zadok* the Priest; and (r) *Jehu* by one of the Sons of the Prophets, acting under the direction of *Elisha*. That rite therefore was an Authentic signification from GOD, that he gave them a Commission to discharge that Office. So that when *Saul* is term'd in our Text the LORD's Anointed, it implies, that he was at that time King of *Israel* by a Divine Commission. He had been publicly and solemnly plac'd in that Office by Divine Authority. The same Authority was necessary to displace Him. And the Revocation of his Commission, must have been as Publick, as the first Grant of Authority was; This, for ought that appears, was never made, and therefore (the *David's* Designation to future Authority was evidenc'd in his Uction by *Samuel*. He was still under Obligation to look on *Saul* as King of *Israel* by Divine Right, and as his own Sovereign. And in this view his Murder had not been single Murder, but a Complication of Murder, Treason and Rebellion. And this I conceive is the force of his reasoning against the *Fals*.

N^O Prince or Sovereign Ruler now, can in the same Sense pretend to a Divine Commission to govern as *Saul* might then, nor can so properly be term'd the LORD's Anointed. For all such Extraordinary Intercourse between GOD and Man is broken off. No People stands related to him now, in that peculiar Political manner that his People *Israel* did heretofore. Nor do we in any other History meet with any like Claims and Decretions.

BUT in some Sense all Princes, especially Sovereigns (and such only were anointed with Oil among the *Hebrews*) may be term'd the LORD's Anointed, viz. as they bear Rule by Divine Ordination and Appointment. The Apostle (i) *Paul* tells us, the Powers that be are Ordained of God. Nature and Reason plainly discover it to be his Will, that Mankind should live in Societies, and enjoy the Benefit and Regulation of Laws. And this necessarily implies, that in every Community

(e) XVI. Ch. 13. (p) 1 King. I. 34. (q) 2 King. IX. (r) XIII. Rom. I. (i) See Bp. Blackhall's Accession Sermon 1704. particularly, p. 4, 9, 15. Sermon on 1708, p. 4, 5.

Community some must be in subjection and others must bear Rule. All therefore who are lawfully Possess of Governing Power, especially what is Supreme, in any Society, may be fitly term'd GOD's Anointed; as to his Appointment in General, that there should be Government in that Society, and as He hath by his Providence brought them into Office. So that their Authority is indeed owing to his Commission.

THIS, however, must not be so understood, as if GOD Invested all such Governours with his own Authority, that is with Absolute Power to do what they please. He hath not determined in Nature, or by any Positive Constitution, or express Revelation, that we know of, which particular Form of Government all Nations must be under, nor how far the Power of the Supreme Authority shall extend. These Things therefore are to be determin'd by the Particular Constitution of every distinct Community, which must be learn'd from the Laws of it; and those Established Customs which are grown up to the Authority and force of Laws.

THUS, as come to our own Constitution, the Supreme Power of executing Laws already made is in the King or Queen, to be exercis'd Personally, or by deputed Officers. The (1) Supreme Power of making Laws, is not singly in the Prince, but in him and both Houses of Parliament conjointly. So that He can make no new Laws, nor repeal old ones, without their concurring Advice and Authority, but yet so as to have the Negative upon their Consultations and Resolves. And to keep up the Honour of Royal Administration, tho' the Ministers of Princes are liable to Prosecution and Punishment for any ill Advice they give them, yet are their own Persons reputed Sacred, and liable to no Legal Imprisonment, Fine, Criminal Probabs, Coercion or Punishment.

AS far therefore as such a Prince, may be term'd the LORD's Anointed, i. e. as far as he may be said to act by a Divine Commission, so far every attempt against his Life, whether by Violence or Legal Pretext, ought to be restrain'd, by this Consideration, *Who can lift his Hand against Him and be Guiltless?* 'Tis not only Injurious to the Princes Person,

son, but to the Community, which is very deeply concern'd in his Welfare and Preservation; and 'tis also an Insult on the Authority of GOD, from whom he has deriv'd all those Powers and Privileges which the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom supposes to be his.

THE Persons therefore who were concern'd in the Murther, this Day was appointed to deplore, contracted great Guilt, which I shall take the Liberty plainly to represent, that we may see how fir it is that such a Fact should be abhor'd, and that all the Sallies of Discontent and misguided Zeal that would push Men on to the like attempts, should be watch'd and repress. And,

First, LET me Observe that they were guilty of *Murder*. No Person can have his Life justly taken from Him in a Judicial manner, but by Law. The Law of that Particular Community to which he belongs; a Law Particularly describing the Fact, denouncing the Punishment, and giving Authority to the proper Officer to Inflict it. No English Law made the King's Life liable to such a Sentence, as these Men past upon Him, nor gave them Authority to sit in Judgment upon Him, and Subject Him to such a Punishment. He was therefore Murthered. And this argues them concern'd to have been highly Criminal.

FOR of all the Injuries that can be offer'd to a Mortal Man, the taking away his Life is the Greatest. The Guilt of this Sin is so Heinous in GOD's account, that under the Jewish Establishment, the Priest was allow'd to make no Atonement for it, nor the Prince to grant any Pardon to it. (v) *He that smiteth a Man that he die, shall surely be put to Death.* (w) *If he smite his Neighbour presumptuously, or with guile, thou shalt take him from mine Altar that he may die.* (x) *Thine Eye shall not pity, but Life shall go for Life.* (y) No satisfaction was to be taken for a Murtherer, that the Land might not be polluted; which was defiled by Blood, nor could be cleans'd, but by the Blood of them who shed it. Nay long before the giving of the Mosaical Law, immediately after the Deluge did GOD enact this Law, that, (z) *whosoever did shed Man's Blood, by Man should his Blood be shed*; And this express

(v) XXI. Exod. 12. (w) XXI. Exod. 14. (x) XIX. Deut. 21. (y) XXXV. Numb. 31. 33. (z) IX. Gen. 6.

express Reason is given for the Statute, that GOD made Man in his Image, which implies, that the heinous Evil of Murder consists in defacing the Living Image of God, which must be an Act not only of Disrespect to GOD, but of Hostility and Defiance. From all which it appears, how peculiarly heinous this Sin is in the Sight of GOD. But this was also

THE Murder of a King. The first Blood of this Kind, as our Fathers observ'd in their (a) Protestation against the Fact, that ever stain'd the Protestant Profession, and may it be the last. Rome, indeed, the Mother of Harlots, whose Garments have been so deeply dyed with the Blood of Saints, hath not been asham'd to wash her Hands in the Blood of Kings. She hath put Daggers into the Hands of private Assassines, and Spirited them on to such Solemn Butcheries. She hath thunder'd out Excommunications against stubborn Princes, who have disputed her Bold and Boundless Usurpations, and offer'd their Dominions and Patrimonies to their Ambitious Neighbours, and often brought on Foreign Invasions, and stir'd up Domestic Rebellions, to serve her own Ambitious and Antichristian Designs. But the Protestant, &c. true Christian Principles, allow no such Acts of Violence. Protestants make no such Claims over Sovereign Princes, nor have the Impiety in such a Manner to devote them to Ruin. (b) Nor is it improbable that Papists in Disguise, acted a great Part in the Tragedy of this Day, and first kindled, and then blew up that misguided and intemperate Zeal, which proceeded to this fatal Execution. And though 'twas only the wild Rage of a few (whom the Law calls Miscreants) that under their Influence shed this Royal Blood, yet is it not a little Reproach to the Protestant Name, that any pretending to it should be so far Conzen'd and Prompted by the Agents of Rome, as to stain their Hands in this Manner with the Blood of their King. Besides,

IT was the Murder of a *Virtuous* and (c) *Religious* King, if they are to be believ'd who had the greatest Acquaintance with Him. Certain it is, He was free from most of the

(a) Vid. Appendix. (b) Vid. Du Moulin Vindic. of Prot. Ch. 2. (c) Vid. Pym's Speech, *Clay. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 170.

the Personal Vices that flourish in Courts. He understood Religion well, and according to their Accounts, who knew his Practices best, (and why should not those be credited?) He was constant and regular in his Devotions. His Misconducts in the Beginning of his Reign, (and such himself acknowledged) are in Charity rather to be imputed to the Error of his Judgment, than the Malignity of his Will. And oh, how difficult a Post is that of Kings! And although at first He was misled by Evil Counsellors, quarrell'd with *Parliament* for the sake of (d) *Patenters*, and when He had none, took Methods for raising Money which His own (e) *Historians* call *Unjust, Scandalous and Impious*, and himself acknowledg'd (f) *Arbitrary*. Tho' He was now much the Property of *Churchmen*, who, to say the least, had render'd themselves very tractable to the Body of the People, by Odious Intrusion into *State Affairs*, by countenancing all the Illegal Proceedings and Proceedings of the Court; as also by too loose Indications of such *Unhappy* and *Unchristian* Schemes of (g) *Reconciliation* to the *Roman Church*. Yet I am fully persuaded He had often his Errors, and would have carefully avoided the like for all time to come, if instead of being hurried in that manner out of the World, He had been refer'd to His Majesty, and plac'd in his Throne.

I ground my Persuasion upon his excellent Letter to the *Prints* at the Time of the Treaty in the *Life of Wight*, which, as the (h) *Noble Historian* rightly observes, deserves to be preserv'd in Letters of Gold, and let the add, to be copied out for all his Successors to the *British Throne*. His *Discourse* appears in perswading him to overcome his Enemies by Reason rather than Perseverance: And his own good Purposes, as well as Princely Wisdom, in the following Paragraph, which would to GOD all future *English Monarchs* may constantly regard and follow. Next, saith he, affect more *Gratitude to Providence*, than what is really for the Good of Subjects, not the Satisfaction of Favourites. If you thus use it, you will not only be known to be a Father to all, and a Bountiful Prince to every one, you will show yourself any Grace and Favour. You may preserve all Men in trust their Treasure, where

(d) *Clar. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 65.* (e) *Clar. Hist. II. 1. p. 67.* (f) *L. 5. p. 411.* (g) *Vid. Heyl. Life of Laud, Lord Falkland's Speech.*

where it returns them Interest. And if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the fresh Streams which the Rivers entrust with them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an Ocean. These Considerations may make you as great a Prince as your Father is a low one. The English Nation are a Sober People, however at present Infatuated.

WHAT a Foundation had been laid for England's future Peace and Happiness, if our murther'd Monarch had in this Temper been replac'd upon his Throne. But GOD, for England's Sins, withheld the Favour. However, this was an Aggravation of their Sin who were concern'd in his Murther. And yet 'twas farther aggravated by this Consideration.

THAT it was Murther committed on such a Prince, under a Show of Justice. 'Twas a monstrous Figure, indeed, that Justice made at his Trial and Condemnation: An Illegal High-Court being erected (after the most outrageous Garbling the Lower House of Parliament, and turning the Members of the Upper out of Doors) a Stranger to our Laws, to all Laws indeed, compos'd of Army Officers, of Members of Parliament who could be content to be their Tools, and of obscure Men, with a President at their Head, who treated his Prince with as much Insolence as if he had been the meanest Scoundrel, and would not allow him the Privilege of the most Vulgar and Criminal Malefactor, in pleading for his Life. So that although a Mock-Tribunal was Erected to Implead and Condemn him, not so much as a Form of Natural or Legal Justice was observ'd at his Trial.

YET the putting on the Appearance and Pretence, aggravated the Crime of his Judges. That being the most Bloody Murther which is committed under Pretext of doing Justice. A Private Assaffine gratifies Spleen and Revenge, in taking away the Life of an Enemy, but he doth it with all the Secrecy he can, because he hath not the Assurance to avow it, or stand forth in its Vindication. But to shed Blood in the Face of the Sun, and with the Pomp of a Legal Process, is not only to Murther, but to do it with Licence. 'Tis at once to Gratify the Passion, and Celebrate the Fact. 'Tis an Attempt at once to take away the Life and Destroy the Reputation, and face the World down that the Sufferer deserv'd this Fate. And sure this Aggravation is not lessen'd

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when the Life of a Prince is thus taken from him. Moreover.

'Twas Murder committed in *Violation of Sacred Oaths, Protestations, and Vows*. Most, if not all concern'd, had taken the *Oath of Allegiance*, and a very *Solemn Covenant*, which however illegally administred and taken, must at least oblige those who took it, to a just Concern for the Life and Authority of the King, so expressly mention'd therein. So that they not only took away the Life of their Prince in this Illegal Manner, but did it in Violation of the most Sacred Bonds, and added Falshood and Perjury to their Irreligious Revenge.

NAY, 'twas a Murder committed in the Name of the Good People of *England*, and so with a Charge of the Fact upon the Nation. So that a Heinous Calumny upon the Body of the People, accompanied this Injury to their Common Sovereign. For 'twas a very inconsiderable Part of the People, not a Tenth Part of the House of Commons, the Peoples Representative, nor any of the Peers that gave their Consent before the Fact, or signified their Approbation of it afterward. The Lady (i) *Fairfax*, Wife to the General, who was present at the Trial, asserted in the Face of that Unnatural Tribunal, that not the *Hundredth* Part of the People of *England* were consenting to it. The Generality of the People did indeed abhor it. My Lord *Clarendon* informs us, (k) that "as the Time of his Death, he had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in General. And was as much esteem'd, belov'd, and long'd for by them, as any of his Predecessors had ever been.

SO that the Pretence of its being done in the Name of the People of *England*, was utterly false. 'Twas only done by the Violence of a Lawless Army, (who had destroy'd the Authority of their Masters, as well as the Kings,) and of those who were so weak as to be made their Tools, or thought to have put the Army to the same Use

BUT it certainly adds to the Guilt of the Fact, to bring in the People for a Share in this Violence, who did really abhor it, and would gladly have seen their Prince resealed on

(b) See Act for the Day. XII. Charl. 2. c. 30. (i) *Clarend. Hist.* l. 11. p. 255. (k) p. 259.

on his Throne, and those Men disarm'd, who made such base Use of the Sword they had put into their Hands. And,

Lastly, *THE Ends* they had in View, and the *Designs* they were to serve by it, still *beighen'd* the Crime. The *Designs pretended*, were to promote Religion, and serve the Public. Two of the Noblest Ends, but such Ends as are not fit to be promoted by any dishonest and unlawful Means. But in the Principal Managers, it is to be fear'd, this was nothing but Pretence, no real Regard being had by them to either, but their true form'd Design was to pull down all other Powers, and set up themselves. How the *Under Agents* might be misled by them, and with what false Appearances they might colour over such an Action, to engage Men of warm Zeal and weak Understandings, I will not take upon me to say. But still the crafty Managers contracted the more Guilt, by imposing upon such Persons, and engaging them by fair and plausible Colouring in a Design, which had it been propos'd to them Naked and Undisguis'd, they would have abhor'd and started from. And to make Religion, and the Public Good, the Pretence for so Illegal a Fact, was so far from justifying it, that it made it the more Criminal. For an Action unlawful in itself, becomes much more heinous when back'd with Religious Pretences; Because this is in Effect to reproach Religion, as if it allow'd and Countenanc'd such Practices.

THIS is the true Form of this unnatural Fact, which therefore is upon all Accounts to be utterly detested.

BUT here may some say, how black doth this Man make his own Party? What wicked Wretches were the *Presbyterians*, that committed this aggravated Murder. This is a common Charge against us. A Charge repeated upon this Day usually, with a great deal of (I dare not say charitable) Vehemency. For which reason it can't be Improper, nor Impertinent, to take some Notice of it, and see what may be said in our Defence.

And I would first observe, that should the *Presbyterians* of that Time have been as Bad, as some of our angry Brethren now are *pleased* to represent them, yet those of the Present Generation, may view the Fact as it is here truly Represented, and abhor it. May heartily disclaim all Practices of their Predecessors, that appear to them to be Devil-

ations from the Laws of GOD, or the Laudable Statutes and Customs of their own Countrey. 'Tis certain Men that are engag'd in a Quarrel, and judge under the Warmth of Passion, may be the more likely to judge amiss, than those who without any ruffle or hurry of Spirit, or without any immediate Concern in the Quarrel, will take a Calm Survey of Things, and Judge and pass Sentence without Prejudice or Partiality. And if the *Presbyterians* of this Age, or any other Party amongst us, whose Ancestors might be more concern'd in it than the *Presbyterians* were, have such an Opinion of the Fact as is offer'd above, it cannot be for their Dishonour to make such a Profession. As far as I have any Acquaintance with their Notions, 'tis a just Account of the General Sense of those term'd *Presbyterians* now, concerning this Affair. And a Fact disavow'd and detested by us at present, can never be honestly charg'd upon us, however deeply concern'd our Forefathers might be in it.

THIS however is not said to decline the Charge against our Fathers, and leave them Defenceless. Enough is left upon Record, in Historians, which the most sroward to Condemn and Censure us, must allow to be Authentic, to justify them as to this Fact, and wipe off their Aspersions. My Lord *Clarendon* himself informs us, that the Party in Parliament which pass'd under this Appellation, had (1) Eleven Leading Members impeach'd by the Army at once, several of which were forc'd not only to quit their Seats in Parliament, but their Countrey; and the rest of the same Party that still attended the House, were afraid that the Army would quite destroy the Constitution: And their (m) Commissioners at the Treaty in the *Isle of Wight*, made this one great Argument with the King to engage his Compliance with their Proposals. This Party voted the King's Concessions a sufficient ground for a Treaty. Nor could the Army, and those in the House whom *Cromwell* made their Tools, carry on their Design of the King's Trial and Murther, till many of the most active of them were Imprison'd, and the rest by Violence kept out of the House, to the Number, as some tell us, of above Two Hundred, when not above (n) Fifty remain'd in the House.

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(1) Vol. 3. p. 58. (m) B. XI. p. 237. (n) Vid. Act for the Day.

THE Lady Fairfax, Wife to the General, declar'd her Abhorrence of the Fact, as we have before observ'd, in the Face of that Illegal Court, during the King's Trial. What her Opinion in Matters of Religion was, the Noble Historian tells us, where he gives the Relation of this Matter. And although she did not speak as the Representative of her Party, she spoke the Sense of the Generality of those then call'd Presbyterians.

AND this is made abundantly evident by a Twofold Act of the *London Ministers*, when they had first a Suspicion of the Design against the King's Life. Of which, however, the Noble Historian hath thought fit (for weighty Reasons no doubt) to take no manner of Notice. The one was Printing a (o) *Vindication* of themselves, in the Face of the Army, which did in very plain and full Terms, disclaim the Fact, *as not agreeable to the Word of GOD, to the Principles of the Protestant Religion, (never before stain'd with the least drop of a King's Blood) or the Fundamental Constitution and Government of the Kingdom, but contrary to them all; as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Voluntary Protestation of May, 1641, and the Solemn League and Covenant, in which they had sworn to defend his Majesty's Person and Authority, and that they had no Thoughts of Diminishing his Just Power and Greatness. And did Solemnly warn all who belong'd to their Charge; depended on their Ministry, or to whom they had administred that Covenant, to keep close to the Rules of Religion, the Laws, their Protestations and Vows, in maintaining the True Reform'd Religion, and the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, (which they reckoned to be a Limited or mixed Monarchy, as did also the (p) King himself,) particularly by opposing the Army's Model for a Commonwealth, call'd by them, the Agreement of the People, as directly tending to Subvert the whole Frame of the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom.* And towards the Close pray GOD to restrain the Violence of Men, that they might not draw down, on themselves, or the Kingdom, the Guilt of their Sovereign's Blood. This Vindication was Subscrib'd by above Fifty Ministers in and about London.

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- THE other Act, was their sending a Letter to the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, (who, as the Lord Clarendon tells us, thought himself a Presbyterian) and to the Council of War, according to the Tenour of the foregoing Vindication, which was also Printed. And whether this Address from the Ministers, or the Persuasions of his Lady, or his own Principles determin'd him, he was not consenting to the King's Death. And had he not been amus'd by Cromwel, till the Day of Execution, and even then drawn in by him, under a Pretence of seeking GOD by Prayer, till the blow was given, he would have used his Endeavours to have prevented it. Sir (g) Thomas Herbert, who waited on the King upon the Scaffold, informing us, that by what pass'd between him and the General immediately after the Death of the King, it appear'd that he had no Knowledge of what was done, but had that Morning been using his Interest to have the Stroke defer'd, and had fully resolv'd with his own Regiment to prevent the blow, or get it delay'd till he could form a Party in the Army to second his Attempt. But being a weak Man, he was very easily outwitted by such a Master of Stratagem as Cromwel.

AND that this was not a mere Fit of Loyalty in the Presbyterians, proceeding from their Displeasure at Cromwel and his Adherents, who had plainly a Design to overturn the Parliament, as well as dethrone and destroy the King, but agreeable to their first Purposes in engaging in the War, is made notorious by my Lord Clarendon. Who tells us, that when Cromwel first muster'd his Troops, he told them, that (r) he would not counsell them with the perplex'd Expressions of fighting for King and Parliament, but that if he met the King in the Army, He would as soon discharge his Pistol at Him, as at any Private Person, and that if their Conscience would not suffer them to do the like, they should not come under his Command. This, adds my Lord, was Imprudent, and likely to expose him to Danger, because of the Parliament's declaring for a Defensive War only. And afterward he goes on to tell us, that when he perceiv'd the Presbyterians would put Bounds to their Rebellion, that it was not well breath'd, but would expire, as soon as some few Particulars in Religion were granted them, which he did not much like, and that then the Government must

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(r) Ibid. p. 172. (r) Clar. Hist. B. X. p. 111.

run in the old Channel, he endeavour'd to make it believ'd that the State was more Delinquent than the Church, which made him odious at first, and separated him from his old Friends, but made others more Cordial and Firm to his Interests. And thus he saw who were to be depended upon for his Purpose. This put him at first on Modelling the Army, the most unpopular Act he ever did, but yet the Foundation of all his future Greatness. By this, as my Lord adds, he disgusted all those whom he calls Presbyterians. From which 'tis evident, that they had no Design against the State, no Purpose to overturn the Monarchy, or alter what themselves call the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom: But as I find it express by Sir (s) Harbottle Grimstone, Speaker to the House of Commons in the Healing Parliament, which Voted in King Charles II. They drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Condign Punishment, and Vindicated their Just Liberties, without a Thought against His Majesties Person, much less against his Life, as they could appeal to GOD, their Conscience bearing them Witness.

TO the same Purpose, my Lord Clarendon elsewhere tells us, (t) the Scots Commissioners, had no more Purpose to reduce the Monarchy to a Republick, than to restore Episcopacy. And the Party that couzen'd the others into the War, did first obstruct all Approaches to Peace, for which Reason they were angry with their General Essex first, and afterward with Manchester, because of a Breach between him and Cromwel. And elsewhere my Lord informs us, this Party was not (v) Presbyterian. But (w) Cromwel having procured the self-denying Ordinance by a great fetch of Policy, got rid of all in the Army, whose Affections were not agreeable to his own, and got such Men put into Command, as were known to himself, and none else.

TO much the same purpose we are inform'd by him not (x) far off, that about this time the Marquis of Argyle came from Scotland, and sat among the Commissioners, who as to matters of Religion, and with respect to the Church was Presbyterian, but with respect to the State and War, was quite Opposite, abhorring all Thoughts of Peace, or that the King should
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(s) Vindic. Faults on both Sides from Journal of Parliament, May 12. 1650.
(t) B. VIII. p. 561. (v) Ibid. p. 564. (w) p. 630. (x) p. 628.

ever more have the Governments. Which plainly implies, that the *Presbyterians*, had no such Aversions against the King, or Kingly Government.

SO that I think 'tis now Evident from this Celebrated Historian, that the Party in Parliament call'd *Presbyterian*, had not from the beginning any purpose against the King's Person, Government, or Life. And therefore that the fore-mentioned Protestation of the *Presbyterian* Ministers, and the Opposition of that Party in Parliament, to the Armies Design of taking off the King, was not in Contradiction to another Party who had undermined them, but Consonant to their Intentions at the beginning of this Fatal War, and thro' the whole Progress of it.

BUT if it should be said, that tho' they were not *Actors* in this Murther, nor had any such Intentions against the King, yet they were *Accessaries* to it, by beginning the War and putting the Sword into those Mens Hands who made so ill Use of it. To this let me have liberty to say, that if this unhappy Event, be trac'd back to its Original, we must go beyond the beginning of the War. And the best Advocates for the *Royal Cause* confess'd, that the *Extraordinary* and *Illegal* Proceedings of the Court before the War, did very much to raise that Spirit of Discord and Mutiny, that was so hardly to be laid afterward. I chuse to give you some account of this matter in the Lord Clarendon's Words, because he puts the best Face on all Things of his own side that he can, and yet gives his Opinion here in Words, that in the Mouth of another Person would savour of Spleen and Partiality. (y) The Council and Star Chamber, saith He, *Enlarg'd their Jurisdiction to a vast Extent*, holding for Honourable that which pleas'd, and for Lawful that which Profited; and being the same Persons in several Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Rights, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury. The Council Table enjoining by Proclamation, what was not enjoin'd by Law, and Prohibiting what was not Prohibited, and the Star-Chamber censuring the Breach of those Proclamations, with very great Fines and Imprisonments. So that any disrespect to Actions of State, and the Persons of States-men, was in no time more Penal, and those

those Foundations of Right by which Men valued their Security, to the Apprehensions and Understandings of Wise Men, never more in danger to be destroy'd. So that another Noble Royalist who fell in the first Battle of Newberry, yet in the Accusation of the Earl of Strafford, who was suppos'd to be one of the Principal Advisers of those Extraordinary Measures, said, (z) that he had endeavour'd to bring all our Laws from his Majesties Courts, to his Majesties Breast, and that he had given our Goods to the King, our Lands to the Deer, and our Liberties to the Sheriffs. And to the same purpose another Lord, who was afterward a Sufferer for the Royal Cause, said, that (a) by the Principles then receiv'd, all was put into the King's Hands; for Necessity was made Master of all, and of that Necessity the King was made the Sole Judge.

IT would look Invidious perhaps, should I say that the Episcopal Clergy had a very great Hand in these Illegal Measures, by the Influence of Bishops at Court, and the Officious Endeavours of their Inferiors in the Country, to make themselves acceptable there, by promoting what they call'd the Service of the Crown. Yet is my Lord Clarendon forc'd to speak out this Truth, tho' he doth it as softly as he can, ascribing all to their Zeal for Order in the Church, and Decency in Religion. 'Twas a warm Zeal indeed, that would set Fire to three Nations for the sake of Ceremonies, and some Childish Pomp in the Service of GOD, useless Pageantry that would neither please the GOD who was worshipped, nor Profit the Worshippers. Arch-Bp. (b) Laud, had as it was thought, a Purpose to bring all the Offices of the Court into the Hands of Church-men, to provide a stronger Support for the Church: No matter whether it gave them the greater Advantages and Leisure to attend the Duties of their Charge or no. And as he had a very great Ascendant over his Master, so at the Council-Table he would not bear Contradiction in Debate. No great Proof by the way of his Eminent Piety, which can't be without some moderate Mixtures of Humility. The Inferior Clergy also as my Lord adds, (having such a Pow'rful Patron at Court) took more upon them than was usual, and did not live towards their Neighbours of Quality,

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(z) Lord Falkland's Speech in Rushworth, Coll. (a) Earl of Bristol's Apology, p. 41. Lond. 1657. (b) B. I. p. 98, 99.

or their Patrons themselves, as they had us'd to do. And 'tis no wonder if such an Elation of Mind, and so Insolent a behaviour, should be attended with Coldness in those Persons, who would Naturally call it Disrespect and Contempt. And if this was their Carriage to their very Patrons and the Nobility; it can't be Imagin'd, that they could be very Illustrious Patterns of Humility, in their Behaviour towards those of Inferior Rank.

BY these Methods and these Instruments, was that Discontent stir'd up, which Issued in all the Calamities of War. And not only must those who began the War, (supposing it to have been the *Presbyterians*, which yet is not true, as we shall see more by and by) be esteem'd Accessary to the Murder of the King; But those much more who were the forward Instruments in these Oppressions, which gave the first Occasion of Discontent and Complaint. And had not these Occasions been given, the War had never broken out, nor the Church and Monarchy which these Extravagant Measures were us'd to Support, have ever been destroy'd and pull'd down. Tho' this Truth is seldom offer'd to the Consideration of the People on such Days as these, but the Guilt is wholly discharg'd on one Side. As if the Extravagations of Discontent, begotten by *Real Oppressions* were only Criminal; But the Contrivers, Instruments and Abettors of those Oppressions, were all Innocent and Harmless.

BUT were they only *Presbyterians* who were thus Oppress'd and Chagrin'd? The only Discontented Persons, under this Oppression, or Clamourers against it? Were they the only *Wise Men* (to repeat the Noble Historians Words) *so whose Understandings, the Foundations of Right and Security, seem'd in so much danger of Destruction?* Did not the Lords, Digby and Falkland, exclaim as loudly against these Things in the beginning of the Parliament as others? Was not Mr. Hyde himself, afterward Lord Clarendon, appointed to act some part in the same Complaints, and did he not do it (c) heartily? 'Tis true indeed, that when the King by passing several good Laws, had remov'd much of the Ground of these Complaints, and these Lords were taken into his more immediate Service, they quitted the Parliament, and serv'd the King

(c) Vid. History of Europe, last Cent. 2d. Vol. p. 264.

King against it, either in his Councils or Armies. And had other Men Judg'd calmly, and without Resentment of Past Proceedings, or receiv'd *like Illumination* with them, what satisfy'd them of the King's purpose of Governing by Law for the Future, might have given others the like Satisfaction, and prevented a Rupture. But Passions being rais'd, and these Naturally Swaying and Biassing the Judgment, there could not be so cool and deliberate a Reflection on Things, in those that were warm and concerned, as I think there should have been. And many unhappy Accidents concurr'd to widen the Breach when it was once made, and hasten on the Fate and Punishment of a Sinful Nation.

'TIS well known, that at the beginning of this Parliament, the Generality of the Members were in full Communion with the Church Establish'd, and well affected to it. Among the Leading Men in the House of Commons, my Lord (d) Clarendon tells us, only Sir Harry Vane Junior, and Mr. Fiennes, were at first hearty Enemies to the Church, and afterward (as 'tis suppos'd) Mr. Hampden. Of these he tells us often enough, that Sir Harry was no Presbyterian, nor doth he once tell us, Mr. Fiennes was one. But as to Pym, Holles, the Northern Members, and the Lawyers, such as Selden, Whitlock, Glyn, &c. they had no Aversion against the Government of the Church in it self. Elsewhere, indeed, my (e) Lord informs us, *that the Bishops had by their Proceedings made the whole Body of that Profession, if not their Enemies, yet very much indebted to them.* Which one may very calmly judge, not to have proceeded from the Bishop's vehement Respect for the Laws and Constitution.

BUT is it not a little strange that the Presbyterians should in Parliament begin a War against the King, when the Royal Historian leaves us only to suppose, that there was one Leading Man, or at most two of that Persuasion in Parliament, at least in the House of Commons?

CERTAIN it is, that it was not Regard, much less Devotion to the Presbyterian Form of Church Government, that made so many throughout the Nation angry with the Ecclesiastical Constitution at that time, but as my (f) Lord phrases it, *the Transcendent Power of Church-men.* Who had,

(d) B. III. p. 234. (e) B. III. p. 233. (f) B. VI. p. 96.

or had the misfortune to be thought to have, a very Great Hand in the Illegal Impositions, so generally and loudly complain'd of; And to make use of that Interest they had in the King, which was very Great, to embroil the State, for the sake of what *they call'd* the Church, in which, according to their Notions, the Power and Wealth of Clergymen was a very large Ingredient. Thus Arch-Bp. Laud with some of the *Scots Bishops*, got a *Liturgy and Canons*, to be impos'd by Regal Authority in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without consent of Parliament, or so much as the Advice of the Privy Council there. Which that People call'd the overturning their Constitution: And my (g) Lord informs us, that the Canons had defin'd. *Such an unlimited Power to be in the King, and such a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, as had never been submitted to by that People, nor pretended to by their former Kings*, besides many other Particulars so hateful to them, that it presently broke out into a War. And why was the King Complemented by these Canons with such an *unlimited Power*? But that he might return the Civility, and make use of the Power, the *Framers* of them had given to *Him*, to Establish *theirs*. And how ready are the Parasites of Kings, to charge an Injur'd People with Rebellion, and make them Odious to a Prince by that *hard Name*, when they will not tamely put their Necks into that Yoke which they Impose upon them?

SUCH an Unusual and Extraordinary Proceeding as this in *Scotland*, could not but make a great Noise here. The same Man who had procured the Royal Sanction for those *Scottish Canons*, being known to have as great an Interest in the Management of Affairs here, and being as much an Exalter of the Prerogative on this side *Tweed*, as beyond it, and for much the same Reasons and Purposes. This Man was also suppos'd to have Influenced the King to keep the *Convocation* Sitting, after the *Dissolution* of the *Parliament*, in the beginning of the Year 1640. Which, (h) according to the same Author, *made Canons, which 'twas thought it might do, and enjoin'd Oaths and gave Subsidies, which certainly it might not do. Did many Things, which in the best of Times might have been questioned; and thereby drew the Hatred of the*
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People on the Clergy in General, which before was directed only against Particular Persons. And this Busy intermeddling of theirs in State Affairs, and their advising and abetting Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings, gave such a general Disgust to the People, that when the Bill to take away the Bishops Votes in the House of Peers, came to the Royal Assent, (i) Few Men thought the Preservation of them Essential, most Men believ'd it Prejudicial, to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. And this was the true Source of that Resentment which the Parliament express'd against the *Hierarchy*, and no Affection or Devotion to a *Presbyterian* Settlement.

ALTHO' therefore, those who had felt the Lash of Ecclesiastical Courts for Non-conformity, had a farther Reason to be angry with these Men, and Averse to their Order, besides what the rest of the People had; and many Ministers that had been Sufferers under the *Hierarchy*, might desire the Settlement of *Presbytery* in its room: Yet that the Generality of those, who afterward went under this Name in Parliament, had no earnest desires of such an Establishment, is Evident to me from many Passages of most *Authentic* Historians. 'Tis true, they call'd together an *Assembly* of Divines, to advise with about settling of Religion, of whom many if not the greatest Number lik'd a *Presbyterial* Settlement. But that the Parliament had no Violent Affection to it notwithstanding, is plain, because tho' the (k) *Assembly* met July 1. 1643, I don't find a full Settlement of this Government decreed in Parliament till June 5. 1646, very near three Years from the first Meeting of the *Assembly*. And even then, the Settlement was rather (l) according to the *Erastian*, than the *Presbyterian* Form. So that the Church Historian, Fuller observes, (m) that tho' the Parliament made use of their Zeal and Activity, in the Extirpation of Bishops, yet they resolv'd to hold a strict Hand over them, as not coming, but being call'd together to advise them. And that the English can't be term'd the same with the Scottish *Presbytery*, for that the Parliament never suffer'd them, to carry the Keys at their Girdle, but reserv'd to themselves the Power of Excommunication. And tho' they are frequently prompted by the *Assembly*, and the

(i) B. IV. p. 420. (k) Vid. Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI. p. 197, 229. (l) Vid. Hist. of Engl. III. Vol. p. 148. (m) p. 214. AD. 1644.

the *Scots* Commissioners, would never let that Government be declar'd (n) *Jure Divino*. But signified their displeasure once against the Assembly for pushing *that Matter* too far, and (o) charg'd them with a Breach of Privilege. Asserting their own Power in Matters of Religion, and (p) proposing this Question among others to the Assembly, *viz. Whether there were any Thing contain'd in the Word of GOD, disallowing the Magistracy in a Christian State, to judge and determine of Offences, and Suspensions for them from the Sacraments?* Which is a plain Intimation, that the Majority of them thought the Magistracy had the Power of such Censures, and therefore were *Erafsians*.

AND what my Lord *Clarendon* relates of the manner of the two Houses taking the *Solemn League and Covenant*, makes it Evident that they were in a manner forc'd to do what they did. In the beginning of the Year 1643, their Affairs were very unprosperous. Their General *Essex* had wasted his Army in the almost useless Service of besieging *Reading*. The Earl of *Stamford* had been roused at *Stratton*. *Waller* had been worsted at *Lansdown*, and routed near the *Devizes*. *Bristol* was taken from them. The King had a good Body of Forces under the Earl of *Newcastle*, in the North. So that unless they could procure Assistance from the *Scots* to put them into a Condition of treating with the King, their Affairs lookt desperate. Their Assistance could not be procur'd without Abolishing the Hierarchy. But how to Compass this, the Lord (q) *Clarendon* tells us was the Difficulty, *The Major part of the Members in both Houses being Cordially Affected to the Church Establishment here, at least not Affected to any other*. When their Interest was so much Declining at home, a Motion was made to send to *Scotland*, and Crave Assistance from that Nation, merely to save themselves from Ruine, as he says. And he farther adds, that nothing was more wonderful during all these Distractions, than the (r) Expedition with which the Covenant pass'd the two Houses. When not only the Majority were Affected as is before said, but the Leading Men in those Councils, were known to be as *Great Enemies to Presbytery, as to the King and the Hierarchy, and intended*

(n) Hist. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 143. (o) *Whistock's Memoirs*, p. 207. (p) Hist. of Engl. p. 151. (q) B. VI. p. 117. (r) B. VII. p. 379.

intended to make use of the Scots Presbyterians to serve their Designs, when they were resolv'd to prosecute Presbytery to an Extirpation.

AND let me add here, that though it was the undoubted Design of the Scots, to have *Presbytery* settled in England, yet they were outwitted by Sir *Harry Vane*, to have the Covenant Worded in such General Terms, that they should not be able to press home upon Occasion. There being express Mention made in it, of the several Branches of the Hierarchy to be pull'd down, but no such particular Description of the Ecclesiastical Frame to be set up in its Room. 'Twas only Covenanted (s) in General, that a Reformation should be Endeavour'd in England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of GOD, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and to bring the Three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in these Things. Which general Form of Expression left those Men at greater Liberty than was Consistent with the Design of the Scots, who were very desirous to gain their Assistance, but had no Good-will for their Beloved Presbytery. So that from all these Passages it is evident, that the Parliament which begun the War, was not a Presbyterian one.

To which let me add, that before this Treaty and League with the Scots, Mr. Hampden was dead, having been kill'd (t) June 24, 1643. Whereas Commissioners were not sent to treat with the Scots for their Assistance, till (v) July. And it was the 23th of September following, before the Covenant was taken by both Houses. So that at that Time, only Sir *Harry Vane*, and Mr. *Fiennes* were left among the Leading Men, disaffected to the Church, of whom, as we have observ'd already, Sir *Harry* certainly was no Presbyterian, and it doth not appear that Mr. *Fiennes* was.

BUT now, should it be farther urg'd, that the Presbyterians generally sided with the Parliament in this War, it must be own'd that they did, and perhaps with an higher Opinion of the Cause, than they would have had in their cool

(s) See Solemn League and Covenant. (t) *Whitlock's Memoirs*. (v) *Hist. of Europe for Last Cent.* Vol. 3. p. 24.

cool Thoughts. But they did not do this till they had what they *then* esteem'd a clear Call. The Ministers informing us in their Vindication, (w) that, *what first induc'd them to appear for the Parliament, was the Orders of both Houses, June 10, 1642, to bring in Money, &c. for maintaining the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority, his Person, Royal Dignity, the Laws, or against all Opposers.* The true Account of which Fact I take to have been this.

NO Opinion had prevail'd amongst them, that only *Absolute Monarchy* was of Divine Institution. They thought the Government of various Nations might have different Forms, without Vacating any Institution, or opposing any Laws of the Universal Sovereign. And that the Powers of Supreme Rulers in every Nation, were to be judg'd of and determin'd by the Laws and Constitutions of that Particular State. If I can understand Language, the *Noble Historian* so often refer'd to in this Discourse, is fully agreed with them in this Notion, about the Powers of an *English Monarch*, the General Strain of his History is Evidence to any that have read it, without making any particular References. And his (x) *Royal Master* had the same Notions.

BUT now it can't be suppos'd that Ministers, whose Studies generally lie another Way, or the Body of the People, should be so well acquainted with the Laws and Rules of the *English* Government, as to know how far the Royal Prerogative might reach, and where it must be bounded, nor how far *one* Branch of the Legislature might defend itself against the Invasions of *another*. But they had found the whole Body of the Nation complaining of Arbitrary Proceedings in the Court, of many Lawless and Tyrannical Practices in Courtiers; and tho' many of these Grievances had been redrest by passing several good Laws, yet they found many *Learned* in the *Law*, of Great Reputation in their own Profession, of Establish'd Characters for Virtue upon all other Accounts, declaring in Parliament for a *Defensive War*, to maintain the Constitution against the Attacks of Ill Men about the King, whilst they profess they had no Designs against his Majesty's *Person, Life, or Just and Legal Authority and Power.* And such *Persons* they reckoned they

they might safely follow. And finding withal that those Men were most hearty in their Attempts to remove the Danger of Popery, as well as to guard and secure the Rights of the People, which had been greatly Invaded, and willing to free them also from the Persecution of *Spiritual Courts*, where *Non-conformists* had generally been the *Greatest Offenders*. 'Tis no wonder, that, thinking their Cause justifiable, they should side with that Party that were likely to show them the greatest Favour. Nay, 'tis no Reproach to them, because it is a General Infirmity of Humane Nature, to say, that Expectation of Protection and Favour from this Party, might have some Influence towards their good Opinion of the Cause. Where is the Man so much mortified to all Self-Interest and Regard, and so rigidly Virtuous, as to be free from all Bias of this Kind, from all Partiality in his Judgment of Men and Things, where himself hath any Concern? Such a Perfection of Virtue, is not, I think, a Plant of Earthly Growth. They were also the more powerfully determin'd to side with the Parliament, because many who had a very great Influence on the King were (1) *Papists*, or suspected to have Friendly Inclinations towards *Popery*; many *Papists* openly Listed in his Service, and the rest were very officious in offering their Treasure to support him in his War against his People. And this made the greater Impression upon them, because of the Barbarous Massacre committed by the Men of that Profession in *Ireland*, towards the latter end of the Year 1641. In which Kingdom near Two Hundred Thousand Protestants were murder'd in cold Blood, and in the most Treacherous and Barbarous Manner. Must not this naturally beget an horror at that Religion, and a dread of the Professors of it, on this Side the Water? Must not Men that were most Cool and Unconcern'd, have Suspicions of a Cause in such a *Figure*, that Men of this Religion were so openly forward to promote? Or is it any wonder that Multitudes should have Jealousies, that the King's Purposes were not *favourable* to the *Protestant* Religion, when *Papists* who so lavishly shed the Blood of their Brethren in one Kingdom, were so officious

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(1) The Queen was known to be a Papist, and to have a very great Influence over the King. The Lord Digby, who was indeed the Principal Instrument of beginning the War, afterward became a Papist, as did Corringham.

to Interest themselves in the Quarrel between him and his Parliament, and encourage him to War in another? Or in the Hurry and Confusion this Dreadful News must occasion, is it strange that Multitudes should be driven even into desperate Measures for their Defence, against such Savage and Bloody Enemies? Not to observe that these Rebels gave out that they had the *King's Commission* for what they did, which though one of the most Unjust and Envenom'd Calumnies that could be invented, yet in such Seasons of Discontent and Complaint, would insensibly exasperate, and insinuate into Mens Minds an *Ill Opinion* of the King, as an Enemy, and of his Cause, as destructive to their Countrey and Religion.

SUCH therefore as will make an Equitable Construction of Humane Actions, even supposing our Ancestors wrong in engaging on the Parliaments Side, must allow, that they were guided by Appearances, that might sway, and determine Men of very Great Probity towards GOD and Men.

LORD (2) *Clarendon* himself tells us, *Many Sober Men. well-minded, and reverencing the Laws, were yet misled by Privileges of Parliament, of which the Parliament thought themselves the Proper, and the only Judges. And that Good Men were persuaded, that if the King should levy War against the Parliament, to destroy the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that such a Resistance might be made as would preserve the whole, and whoever would go about to argue against it, could never escape the Censure of Promoting Tyranny, and Lawless Dominion. And tho' at this Time, I, for my own Part, am persuaded, that the King, at the breaking out of the War, had no purpose to overturn the Constitution, and Establish Tyranny and Lawless Power, yet did many unhappy Circumstances concur to make this more generally believed, than I think it should have been. Nor is it a wonder, that in such a Time of Hurry and Confusion, when Mens Tempers were whetted, and their Passions rais'd, such very Dextrous Men as my Lord represents the Chief Managers, should be able to throw Dust in Men's Eyes, and procure many Things to be readily believ'd, that yet deserv'd no Credit. And why those who desir'd a Reformation of what was Amiss in the*

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Ecclesiastical Constitution, might not be among the *Sober Men*, and *reverencing the Laws*, that were thus misled, I know not.

IT is no doubt with me, but many on both Sides engag'd in this fatal Quarrel, upon very honest Principles, and were pursuing, tho' by such very different Means, the same *Good End*, viz. the preserving the Constitution, and settling the Kingdom according to it. Both Sides thought it necessary to declare it a mere *Defensive War*. On the *King's Side*, of his Just and Legal Prerogative, and the Privileges of Parliament, (of which he always thought himself a Part) against the Encroachments of the Two Houses: And on the *Side of the Parliament*, of their Legal Privileges, and the Peoples Liberties, against the Invasions of Lawless Power; charging such Designs, not upon his Majesty himself, but upon some about him, who abus'd that Confidence he placed in them, sought to Screen themselves by his Power and Perogative, misrepresented *them* to their Prince, and endeavoured to Alienate *him* from his People. That some in Parliament had farther Designs, the Event made appear, but these Designs against the King and Constitution, were not at first avow'd; and as soon as they were discovered, were oppos'd by that Party call'd *Presbyterian*, as is manifest from what we have said above. But whether *Good Men* in my Lord Clarendon's Words, might not help the Two Houses (an acknowledged Part of the Legislative) in defending their own Legal Privileges, and the Rights of the People, when they thought them invaded by their Prince, although we suppose them mistaken in their Apprehensions, without forfeiting that Character, or Commencing *Villains and Traitors*, shall be left to the Impartial and Unconcerned to determine, especially when they declar'd in the Sincerity of their Hearts, that they had no Intention to *hurt* his Majesties Person, or *Lessen* his *Just Dignity and Honour*. But he would be a Mad-man who would go about to justify the Measures taken on either Side to carry on the War, as agreeable to our Constitution, for when once the King and Parliament were not only divided from each other, but engaged in a Quarrel, 'twas impossible the Constitution should be preserv'd.

'TIS therefore a very just Remark of my Lord (a) *Clarendon*, of the Measures of Divine Justice (which very often

fits Punishments to the Sins that deserv'd them,) *That the same Principles, and the same Application of them, should be used, to wrest the Sovereign Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made use of, for extending its Power beyond due Bounds, to the Prejudice of the Just Rights of the Subjects. A Suppos'd Necessity, was then thought Ground enough to create a Power, and a bare Averment of that Necessity to beget a Practice, of Imposing on the Subject what Taxes they thought fit, by a Writ of Ship-Money, never before known. So a Suppos'd Necessity, and Averment of that Necessity, was as confidently concluded a Ground to exclude the Crown from the Exercise of any Power by an unheard of Ordinance, (meaning that of the Two Houses concerning the Militia) And the same Maxim of Salus Populi Suprema Lex, made use of for infringing the Rights of the one, was afterward made use of for destroying the Rights of the other, So naturally do Extremes beget one another, and Illegal and Arbitrary Maxims and Measures procure that Mischief, which they are used to prevent.*

AND now to sum up all, what is the Use we ought to make of such a Tragedy, and the Prelude to it? To what End did our Governors appoint the Observation of this Day? Not to foment Strife, suture, and encourage Railery. Nor to Licence Men to Calumniate their Neighbours, and dress them in Bears Skins to be worn by the Rabble? They pass'd an *Act of Oblivion*, for all other Disorders committed in these Calamitous Times, except this Murder. And I am sure 'tis not Consonant to the *Good Nature of Britons*, or the *Charity of Christians*, to charge Innocent Men with a Fact which they disavow, and profess to abhor, nor indeed to charge this Fact upon any among us at this Time, but those who stand forth in its Vindication. And such as pretend a *Superlative Veneration* for Authority and Laws, should never allow themselves, methinks, to keep up the Remembrance of what they would have forgotten. But 'tis a piece of Injustice of an Unusual Size, to charge all the Fault on one Side, and to do this with Bitterness and Vehemency, when 'tis certain that *Real Oppressions*, and *Great Grievances*, gave Occasion to all their Discontent, and all the Unjustifiable Proceedings that issued from it. 'Tis but equitable, methinks, that they who had an Hand in those Oppressions, should reckon themselves Culpable upon such Occasions, and be content to take

a Share of the Guilt of this Fact to themselves, which they take care to draw in the most frightful Form they can, to make other Men Odious. 'Tis very possible that they who were on the Side of the King, might be guilty of some Unjustifiable Proceedings, as well as those that stood for the Liberties of the People: 'Tis certain from what we have said above, that there were very Illegal Things done by many of them, and they were the first Offenders. And tho' this be no Excuse for any Thing *really Evil* done by others, yet is it not fair to *them*, nor just to *themselves* to take no Notice of their own Offences, on a Day of Humiliation, but to make the Crimes of others as black and frightful as they can represent them. This may humour *Spleen*, and promote a *Worldly Interest*, but it deserves to be seriously consider'd, whether it will not at the same time wound *Religion*, cherish *Discord*, hurt the *Publick*, and Disserve their *Sovereign*.

IF I may speak my Sense freely, no Parly of Men among us was entirely free from the Guilt of those Public Calamities and Confusions, nor therefore of the *Unnatural Murder* this Day was appointed to remember and deplore. 'Tis no good use of such a Season, nor the *sad Event* it brings to Remembrances, for Christians, for Christ's Ministers to blacken their Brethren by false Accusations, or by aggravating real Miscarriages. If instead hereof, we did all carefully search out our own Sins, especially those that have any Tendency to the like Confusions, and Humble our selves before GOD and repent for them, we might grow wise by the Mistakes and Miscarriages of our Ancestors, and might hope to prevent the return of like Calamities and Crimes, when the other Method is more likely to hasten than to avert them.

IF for Instance, STATESMEN and the FAVOURITES of our Princes, would never more push them upon any *Illegal* or *Oppressive Measures*, upon *Stretching* their Prerogative, and claiming *more Power* than the Constitution allows them, nor out of Selfishness and Revenge, engage them in any Designs, Inconsistent with the true Interests of the *Protestant Religion*, and of their *People*.

IF CHURCHMEN would no more officiously thrust themselves into the Civil Administration, nor for their own Interests, advise, justify or promote, what the Noble Historian calls, *Lawless Power* and *Dominion*: But confine themselves within their Proper Sphere, and either bear with their
Fellow-

Fellow-Subjects in their differing Sentiments about some Things in Religion, or endeavour to reclaim them only by *Evangelical Methods*, and with a *Spirit of Meekness*, without calling for the Civil Sword to enforce their Censures, and persecute their Brethren.

IF our PRINCES themselves would for ever hereafter limit their Desires of Power, by the (b) foremention'd Advice of this *Afflicted King*, and never reckon they have any Interests of their *own*, divided from those of their *Subjects*, but make it their Business to administer Justice Impartially, according to the Laws, and afford their Protection to all, who by a dutiful and peaceable Carriage deserve it.

IF the PEOPLE would keep within the *Bounds* prescrib'd by the *Laws*, as far as they can, with a due regard to the *Laws* of the *Supreme King*, and the *Sacred Rights* of Conscience, Reverence the Authority of their Princes, love their Persons, maintain with Chearfulness their Legal Prerogatives, and not cherish a Mutinous Intermeddling Temper in themselves, feed their own Misgivings of them in Power, or by unreasonable Discontents and Fears, make themselves the Property of Treacherous and Selfish Politicians, but keep to their proper Stations, and *do their own Business*, abhorring all Language and Behaviour, that would break the Publick Peace, unnecessarily provoke our Rulers, or give them Jealousies of wicked Designs.

IF every PARTY among us, would mind *their own* Duty and perform it, without bearing hard on others, would forbear Mutual Reproaches, and with a Laudable Emulation, strive to outdoe one another in *Honouring* their Queen, *maintaining* our present Protestant Settlement of the Crown, and *promoting* true Spiritual Religion, and the Public Welfare.

THIS would be rightly to improve the Tragedy of this Day, and the Confusions and Calamities that preceded and followed it.

HAPPY were it for *Britain*, if the Observation of the Day might produce such wholesome Effects, if Endeavours were heartily us'd thereupon, to promote such excellent Designs. When shall we be wise enough, with United Hearts and Hands, to Study and Promote our Common Interests.

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(b) See p. 7. 8. King's Letter to the Prince at large.

AS for Us, Let it be our hearty Purpose and Endeavour, however unjustly we may be charg'd, however peevishly misrepresented and revild, to approve our selves *Faithful Subjects* to our Queen, *Zealous Friends* of our Excellent Constitution, and the present Settlement of our Crown, and warm *Lovers* of our Dear Countrey and Holy Religion. And if our Angry Brethren will run us down with Opprobrious Language, and fierce and Injurious Accusations, let us not cherish a *Spirit of Bitterness* towards them, nor return their reviling Speech, but resolve by the Grace of GOD (c) to overcome Evil with Good. And tho' their Pretensions to *Loyalty* may be more *Clamorous* than ours, yet let us make it appear, by our Obedience to the Lawful Commands of our Superiors, by our Peaceableness in our Stations, by our Hearty Zeal for the Welfare of the Public, and the Service and Honour of our Prince, by our daily and fervent Prayers for the Preservation of Her Person, and the Prosperity and Tranquillity of Her Reign, that they are not more *Just*. And tho' we have not Access to Her Royal Presence, nor Opportunity to make our Court by *Fawning Professions* of Superlative Loyalty, yet let us make it Evident by our Behaviour (a Language much more Significant of the Heart's Sincerity than fair Words) that we are Her *Dutiful Subjects*. Let us mortify Pride and Selfishness, let us keep under our unruly Passions, and carefully watch that *Slippery Member* our Tongue. Let us be well Instructed in our *Holy Religion*, understand well its *Principles*, conform exactly to its *Rules*, and pursue steddily its Noble and Excellent *Designs* in our whole Behaviour. In a Word let us look to it, that our Hearts be in the first Place Upright with our GOD, without which 'tis in vain to pretend to any Hearty Loyalty to our Prince, and then let us remember that, Magistracy is an Appointment and Ordinance of GOD for the Good of Mankind, and let us be Cheerful Subjects to our Rulers, not only for (d) *Wrath*, but for Conscience sake. (e) Let us fear GOD, and Honour the Queen.

THUS will all those, who run us down as *Republicans*, *Rebels* and *Traitors* in the Lump, and would by these Reproaches make us odious to our Rulers, and the raging Multitude, be sham'd when they see our Good Conversation in Christ Jesus. Or else we shall be able to Appeal to GOD for the Integrity

Integrity of our Hearts, shall have the Support and Comfort of Divine Approbation, and the *Testimony of a Good Conscience*: And if we can't wipe off Reproach from our Persons and Principles in the World, shall be able to look forward with humble Confidence to a Tribunal, that will set all Things right, and justify us in the Face of the whole World.

IN the mean time let us remember 'tis the Lot of the best Christians to pass thro' *bad report as well as good*. And let us be content to take our Lot. It is not strange, nor should it seem hard, for us to be call'd *Rebels*, when our Blessed Redeemer the *Holy Harmless, Undeified Jesus* was reproach'd, accus'd and condemn'd as an Enemy to *Cesar*, and a Traitor against his Government. Blessed be a Gracious GOD, that our Governors express no such hard Thoughts of us, however we are lash'd by some of our Fellow Subjects, who to say the least, never gave more glorious Proofs of a *Passive Temper* under the Oppressions of their *Princes*, than our selves, whatever boasts they have made of their *Passive Principles*. Let us be thankful for the favour shown us by our Governors, and for their Indulgence in giving us the liberty to worship GOD, according to the Dictates of our Conscience, and let us endeavour to deserve the Continuation of this Favour. Let us make up if it be possible in Allegiance to our Queen, what our Ancestors were really Defective in to Her Predecessors.

AND may GOD of his Infinite Mercy, so compose our Differences, calm our Spirits, open our Eyes to our Common Interests, and tie us together in so firm an Union, and so General a Concern for our Holy Religion and the Welfare of our Countrey, that these Lands may never more be rent with like Distractions, nor *defil'd with Blood shed in Domestic Quarrels*, or by the Sword of *Forreign Adversaries*. In a Word, may GOD's Blessings be pour'd forth on our Queen, and all in Authority under her, that they may be faithful in their Administration, Prosperous in all their Designs for the Public Welfare, and that we under them may continue (f) to *lead Peaceable and quiet Lives in all Godliness and Honesty*.

Grant this O LORD, for the sake of thine only begotten Son Christ Jesus, to whom be Glory and Honour for ever. Amen.

N. B. The References to the Lord Clarendon's History, are to the 8vo Edition.

APPENDIX.

A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London, upon the Unjust Aspersions cast upon their former acting for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing the King to Capital Punishment. London, Printed for Tho. Underhill, 1648.

IT can't be unknown how much We, and other Ministers of this City and Kingdom, that faithfully adher'd to the Parliament, have injuriously smarted under the Scourge of Evil Tongues and Pen, ever since the Eruption of the Unhappy Differences, and Unnatural War between the King and Parliament, for our Obedience to the Commands and Orders of the Honourable Houses in their Contests with his Majesty, and Conflicts with his Armies.

WE are not Ignorant of the over-busy Intermeddlings of Prelates and their Party heretofore, in over-ruling Civil Affairs to the Great Indangering of Kingdoms, and of this in Particular, when Private Interests, Ambitions, Designs, Revenge, or other Sinister Ends, engag'd them beyond their Sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reasonably (as we conceive) be denied, that Ministers as Subjects (being bound to obey the Laws, and preserve the Liberties of the Kingdom, and having an Interest in them, and the Happiness of them, as well as others) may and ought (without incurring the just Censure due to Busy Bodies, and Incendiaries) to appear for preserving the Laws and Liberties of that Community whereof they are Members. Especially in our Case, when it was declar'd by the Parliament, *that All was at Stake*. No, nor as Ministers, ought they to hold their Peace at a Time wherein the Sins of Magistrates and Rulers, as well as others, have so far provok'd GOD, as to kindle the Fire of his Wrath against his People. Yet, for this alone, the Faithful Servants of GOD, have in all Ages thro' the Malice of Sa-

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can and his Instruments, been traduc'd as Arch-Incendiaries, when only their Accusers are really guilty of both laying the Train, and putting Fire to it, to blow up a Kingdom.

AN *Abab* and his Sycophants, thought none so fit to bear the Odium of being the Grand troubler of *Israel*, as *Elijah*. Thus the Popish Device was to have charg'd the Gun-Powder Treason (had it taken Effect) upon the *Puritans*. And if you believe *Tertullus*, even *Paul* is a Pestilent Fellow, a mover of Sedition throughout the World, a Ring-Leader of a Sect, and what not besides what he is. Yea, and *Christ* himself (tho a Friend to Monarchy, even that of Heathenish *Rome*) is Proclaim'd an Enemy to *Cesar*, to open a Way to his Destruction, by their Malice, who never car'd for the Interest of *Cesar*.

WHEREFORE, altho' with us, who have had Experience of the like Usage, it be a small Thing to be thus Judged of Men, when we regard only our own Particular Persons (for if they call the Master of the House *Belshazzar*, how much more those of his Household) yet when we consider how much it concerns the Honour of our Master, and the Good of all to preserve our Ministerial Function, Immaculate Care. Good Names being in that Relation, as needful to others, as a Good Conscience to our Selves) we dare not but assert the Integrity of our Hearts, and the Innocency of all our Actings, in reference to the King and Kingdom, for which we are so much calumniated and traduc'd.

THIS we are compell'd to at this time, because there are many who very confidently (tho' most unjustly) charge us, to have been formerly Instrumental toward the taking away the Life of the King. And because there are others also, who in their Scurrilous Pasquils and Libels, as well as with their virulent Tongues, represent us to the World as a Bloody Seditious Sect, and Traiterous Obstructors, of what all the Godly People of the Kingdom do earnestly desire for Establishing Religion and Peace. In that we *Sit* at the Execution of the King, whilst yet we are (as they falsely affirm) content to have him *Convicted* and *Condemn'd*. All which we do from our Hearts disclaim, before all the World.

FOR when we did first engage with the Parliament (which we did not, till call'd thereto) we did it with Loyal Hearts and Affections towards the King and his Posterity.

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Not intending the least hurt to his Person, *but* to stop his Party from doing further hurt to the Kingdom. Not to bring his Majesty to Justice (as some now speak) but to put him into a better Capacity to do Justice. To remove the wicked from before Him, that the Throne might be Established in Righteousness, Not to dethrone and destroy Him, which we fear is the ready way to the Destruction of all his Kingdoms.

WHAT, put any of us at first on appearing for the Parliament, was the Propositions and Orders of Lords and Commons in Parliament, *June* 10, 1642, for bringing in Money and Plate, &c. wherein they assur'd us, that whatever should be brought in thereupon, should be employ'd upon no other Occasion, than to maintain the Protestant Religion. The Kings Authority, and his Person in his Royal Dignity, the free Course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, against any force that shall oppose them.

AND in this we were daily confirm'd and encourag'd by their many subsequent Declarations and Protestations, which we held our Selves bound to believe, *knowing* many of them to be Godly and Conscientious Men, of Publick Spirits, Zealously promoting the Common Good, and labouring to free this Kingdom from Tyranny and Slavery, which some *Evil Instruments* about the King endeavour'd to bring upon the Nation.

AS for the present Actings at *Westminster*, since the time that so many of the Members are by force Secluded, divers Imprison'd, and others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons, and there not being that Conjunction of the Two Houses as heretofore, we are wholly Unsatisfied therein, because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient Authority, that in our Apprehensions they tend to an utter Alteration (if not Subversion) of what the Honourable House of Commons in their Declaration of *April* 17. 1646, have taught us to Call the Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom, which they therein assure us, if we understand them, they would never Alter.

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YEA we hold our Selves bound in duty to GOD, to the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before GOD, Angels and Men, that we verily believe, that which is so much fear'd to be now in Agitation, viz. the taking away the Life of the King in the present way of Trial, is not only, not agreeable to the Word of GOD, the Principles of the Protestant Religion (never yet stain'd with the least drop of the Blood of a King) or the Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom, but contrary to them all, as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of May 5. 1641, and the Solemn League and Covenant, from all or any of which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth able to absolve us or others.

IN which last we have Sworn with our Hands lifted up to the most High GOD, *That we shall with Sincerity, Reality and Constancy in our several Vocations endeavour, with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve and defend, the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesties Person and Authority, in Defence of the True Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom. That the World may bear Witness with our Consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts nor Intentions, to diminish his Majesties just Power and Greatness.*

AND we are yet further tied by another Article of the same Covenant, *Not to suffer our selves Directly nor Indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Persuasion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the Contrary Party, or give our Selves to a Detestable Indifferency, or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerns the Glory of GOD, the Good of the Kingdoms, and Honour of the King; but shall all the Days of our Lives zealously continue therein, against all Opposition, and promote the same according to our Power, against all Letts and Impediments whatsoever.* And this we have not only taken our Selves, but most of (us by Command of the Parliament) Administred to others, whom we have thereby drawn in as deep as our Selves in this Engagement.

WHEREFORE according to that our Covenant, we do in the Name of the Great GOD (to whom all must give a strict account) warn and exhort all, who either more immediately belong to our Respective Charges, or any way depend on our Ministry, or to whom we have Administer'd the said

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said Covenant (that we may not by our Silence suffer them to run upon the highly provoking Sin of Perjury) to keep close to the Ways of GOD, and the Rules of Religion, the Laws and their Vows, in their constant maintaining the True Reformed Religion, the Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom, not suffering themselves to be seduc'd from it, by being drawn in to subscribe the Late Models and *Agreement of the People*, which directly tends to the utter Subversion of the whole Frame of the Fundamental Government of the Land, and makes way for an Universal Toleration of all Heresies and Blasphemies (directly contrary to the Covenant) if they can but get their Abettors to cover them under a false guise of the Christian Religion, as also in preserving the Privileges of *Both Houses of Parliament*, and the Union between the Two Kingdoms of *England and Scotland*. To Mourn bitterly for their own Sins, the Sins of the City, Army, Parliament and Kingdom, and the woful Miscarriages of the King himself (which we cannot but acknowledge to have been many and Great) in his Government which have Cost the Three Kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his Excellency into an horrid Pit of Misery, almost beyond Example. And to pray that both GOD would give him Effectual Repentance, and sanctify that bitter Cup of Divine Displeasure, that Providence hath put into his Hands, as also that GOD would restrain the Violence of Men, *that they may not dare to draw on themselves, and the Kingdom, the Blood of their Sovereign.*

AND now we have just Reason to expect that they who have brought us under such a Bond, and thereby led us into the Necessity of this present Vindication, and Manifestation of our Judgment, and Discharge of our Consciences, would defend us in it. However, We resolve rather to be of the Number of those, who tremble at his Terrors, who is a *Consuming Fire*, and will not fail to avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant, upon all who despise it, rather than to be found among those, who Contemn the Oath by breaking the Covenant, after lifting up the Hand, altho' it had been made in Civil Things only, and that with the worst of Men.

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